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WAR & PEACE

Shadow of Munich falls on Europe in German arms crisis

ON the eve of the much-postponed Atlantic Pact meeting in Lisbon Feb. 20, the swelling contradictions and difficulties of Washington's European policy made dour headlines. The N. Y. Post (Feb. 15) saw the "Nato crisis" as the "world's worst since Munich . . . the neurosis of appeasement abroad again the length and breadth of Europe." The **Wall St. Journal** (Feb. 11) heard "the hinge of U.S. foreign policy . . . creaking ominously." The N. Y. **World-Telegram** (Feb. 15) found:

> DENTS APPEAR IN UNITED FRONT AGAINST RUSSIA. . . . Many smaller countries are lapsing into "neutralism," . . . [which] is more dangerous now than in the past because we are approaching a showdown.

The gloom was partly manufactured as a means of pressure against reluctant allies; but the troubles were real. Secy. Acheson, who took advantage of King George's funeral to meet top British, French and West German officials in London for a hasty glueing operation on U.S. policy, faced what the **New Statesman & Nation** (Feb. 16) called "a pattern gone wrong."

Szpilki, Warsaw

Aside from European balking at an increase in arms spending as recommended by the Harriman Committee —already enforcing a 25% cut in NATO arms goals on land and 10% in the air (N. Y. **Herald Tribune**, Feb. 18)—Washington's European Army project seemed doomed in fact, whatever the votes of parliaments.

A VOICE FROM BUCHENWALD: France, where since Korea wholesale prices are up 43%, living costs 34%, was sinking into bankruptcy with "waves of distrust of the French franc [sweeping] over the French free exchange and gold markets" (**Journal of Commerce**, Feb. 14) and a fourth devaluation of the franc since the war prophesied. The depth of the political-economic crisis was suggested in a government ban on commemorations of the birth of the Popular Front in Feb., 1934, in a wave of arrests of workers protesting the ban, in the use of thousands of police in an effort to break a one-day general protest strike. (At the Renault auto works, where in December 8,000 police equipped with armored cars, jeeps, motorcycles, sought unsuccessfully to provoke workers into pitched battle, 100 policemen were sent to the hospital after attacking strikers.)

Canard Enchaine, Paris

"Come and have a look at our new spring models."

In this gathering storm France's National Assembly for three days debated the "European Army" rearmament of Germany. Ushers aided down the aisle to the dais a right-wing Radical Party deputy, George Heuillard, a crippled concentration-camp victim. He said:

> "When I was in Buchenwald, my friends and I swore we would not allow the revival of German militarism. I am a condemned man and am going to die soon. I don't want my sons to serve alongside the butchers of their father. I beg you, distrust Germans always. Do not rearm Germany. Most of my friends are dead but I address the Assembly in their behalf."

The entire Assembly leaped to its feet, exploding into applause. The **Wall St. Journal** (Feb. 15) called this incident symbolic of

> . . . a larger explosion of emotion throughout France . . . [which] threatens to doom American hopes for an effective European defense and for European unity . . . a last-minute rebellion by the French people against U.S. plans for bringing German forces into the European defense system.

"FRANCE SHOULD BE FRENCH": Socialists and de Gaullists applauded a Communist who attacked the project as a provocation to the Soviet Union. Prewar premier Daladier, urging a new effort to reach understanding with Russia, said if the U.S. "played the German card . . . France should return to freedom in her international policy." A Socialist caucus wanted all decisions on the Army postponed until after June 1 when UN's new Disarmament Commission is to report. The Assembly echoed to calls for a "French policy." Former Defense Minister Moch, original author of the plan, urged its rejection in favor of a new approach to Russia. GUARDIAN's Ella Winter wrote from Paris:

> In the general uproar here about German rearmament, the Saar and NATO equality demanded by the Germans may have been near to the last straw. There is much more excitement among the population than shows in the papers or government remarks. Parliament has been growing increasingly hostile to the government. General talk here is that France is not afraid of "Russian invasion," the great scare-phrase used by the U.S. Growing anger at the "American occupation" and at what is felt to be UNNECESSARY increasing danger and daily difficulty in living is reflected everywhere in shops, streets and cafes. One feels a little about read-

(Continued on Page 3)

A Sunday drive — or a drive to hell

That's the choice for America dramatically illustrated by this photo taken at the Willys plant in Toledo, O. Gen. George C. Marshall has called the jeep America's main contribution to modern warfare; but judging from the protest over UMT and the doldrums at the Army enlistment centers, America's youth prefers Willys' contribution to the enjoyment of living — the six-passenger sedan (civilian).

Senators push UMT in face of rising protest

SENATORS last week gingerly examined their hottest election-year potato: the bill to establish universal military training for the first time in U.S. history. Approving UMT in principle last year, Congress gave House and Senate military affairs committees until Feb. 21 to produce specific recommendations. The House committee recommended six months' military training for 18-year-olds followed by 7½ years in the reserves. Senate committee chairman Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.) said the draft would continue at least another three years along with UMT.

Before the Senate committee last week opposition on the basis of a preference for the draft came from George D. Riley of the AFL's legislative committee, from CIO secy.-treas. James B. Carey, from the right-wing farmers' Natl. Grange. The Natl. Farmers Union opposed it altogether and it was denounced by a cross-section of Protestant groups including the Methodist Youth Conference (2,000,000 members), United Christian Youth Movement (10,000,000), Natl. Council of Churches of Christ (representing nine major denominations), Church of the Brethren (186,000), Baptist Convention, Women's Christian Temperance Union. Dr. Joseph M. Dawson of the Baptist Joint Comm. on Public Affairs (claiming to represent 16,000,000 Baptists) said:

> "As far as the youth is concerned [UMT] means eight years of bondage for his body, a worse bondage for his mind subjected to military education, contrary to our traditional ideals . . . and a still worse bondage for his soul under grievously unprotected environment to the fateful, evil influence of warmaking."

MAIN ST. SAYS NO: The N. Y. **Times** agreed with the AFL that UMT if passed should be marked "for emergencies only," explaining that the "'emergency" would last "so long as there is any military threat to the free world."

Humanite, Paris

"FORWARD!"

Less august newspapers around the country frankly recognized the overwhelming public sentiment against it. Under the heading UMT CAN WAIT the Chicago **Daily News** editorialized:

> Congressmen from every section report determined opposition to the bill . . . much more widespread and intense than that which met the mere "declaration of intention" that Congress adopted last year.

Holmes Alexander wrote in the Los Angeles **Mirror:**

> Here is a case where the native shrewdness of Main St. has disputed the over-educated scholarship of global thinkers. . . . The folks back home are beginning to perceive that fine words are no more than the servants of fine phrasemakers . . . [UMT gives the President] a sword-rattling capacity that changes the whole American conception of international diplomacy.

ONE FIGHTING SENATOR: Progressive groups joined the protest—the broadest in the whole fight for peace. The American Labor Party in a memo to the senators called UMT

> . . . a brass-hat, goose-step plan to militarize our youth and pour $4 billion a year into a blueprint for war.

The American Youth Peace Crusade called a national lobby against UMT in Washington Feb. 26.

Sen. Edwin C. Johnson (D-Colo.), not a member of the Senate committee, promised to lead a "last-ditch" fight against the legislation when it reaches the floor. Committee chairman Russell, seemingly worried about that fight, last week tried rallying UMT supporters for "a more thorough campaign" so public opinion "won't look so one-sided" to Congress.

RENEW HERE — AND NOW!

Your address-plate, now appearing out front (on the reverse of this box), tells the month and year your sub expires. "2-52" means Feb., 1952—THIS MONTH. To renew quickly:

JUST CLIP OUT THIS BOX, AIRMAIL TODAY WITH $2.

In acknowledgment, may we send you your choice of the friendly offerings listed below? Check one.

- ☐ "WE CHARGE GENOCIDE," a "must" for every progressive bookshelf in America.
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THE MAIL BAG

Apathy and UMT

CHICAGO, ILL.

Since so few people want universal military training, it is unbelievable that this type of legislation is so near to becoming a regular part of our society through impending congressional action. Militaristic forces are relying on the inertia of busy people, too busy to write their congressmen and senators and express their desire for peaceful educational training rather than UMT.

Apathy and distinterest are the greatest forces of democratic U.S.A. We must all immediately start telling our government what to do, if we want to enact legislation for the people rather than for military cliques. **Joyce Turner**

Rather he was wrong

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I wonder whether President Truman realizes how cruelly right he is in telling Rep. Sabath that he "already has put in seven years at a KILLING job." **Name withheld**

That's Mario!

ROCKFORD, ILL.

I am writing in regard to the picture you had on front page of your paper showing Christmas in a North Korea POW camp. The fellow giving a toast is unquestionably my brother; and what a dream come true this picture is!

Pictures is one true way of showing conditions and facts and my brother looks happy at this time.

At one time we were notified by your paper that my brother, Pfc. Mario R. Ghinazzi, 57501579, 1101 Cunningham St., was reported to you on a POW list. Then in December when Washington read off the supposed list of POW's, my brother wasn't on it. It was a jolt to us at that time, but we feel there is a mistake somewhere and that he is a POW.

There is a soldier in Pennsylvania that claims my brother and him were in the same POW camp at one time.

Getting back to the picture, is there some way in which you can find out the names of those boys—or can you tell me where I can write? I know you are very wonderful in helping us who know the hardships and suffering of this seemingly useless war.

Please answer as soon as you can. My mother and father are waiting just minute by minute for something new. Thank you very much.

Mario's brother Orlando, writing for
The Ghinazzi Family

Ike's "liberation" plans

LONDON, ENGLAND

Eisenhower's remark that he did not think the British should join the "European Army" scheme has roused significantly little comment. What he means, I suggest, is that he does not want "another Dunkirk." He is so sure that, in the event of major war, ignominious abandonment of Western Europe could not be avoided, that he is anxious not to lose the British army in the process. Its loss would necessitate "policing" Britain—the "unsinkable aircraft-carrier" the U.S.A.F. must have—with foreign (e.g., American) troops. This would rouse the dangerous resentment of "the natives," as the experience of the last war showed.

Behind this change of view may be one or both of the following: (a) "MacArthurism's" apparent triumph in the U.S., and Churchill's acceptance of it; (b) the evident "unreliability" of the peoples of the NATO countries, including the bulk of the Germans, as participants in what is now generally recognized to be a war of U.S. aggression. The first means that most of the U.S. (and British and French) ground forces would be pinned down in Asia. Thus the most the "European Army" could do would be — having provoked counter-attack — to delay long enough for thorough-going destruction of the productive resources (and, of course, populations) of the countries it must evacuate.

What is still not certain is at what point it is intended (if possible) to stop this evacuation-destruction. One former idea was to stop it at the Pyrenees, keeping Spain as a springboard for "liberation" of the annihilated, depopulated "U.S. of Europe." Newer evidence suggests that all Europe is to be "expended," with North Africa as the "liberation" base.

The vagueness of command is natural, for it would upset everything if the peoples thus doomed were to get wind of the holocaust in store for them and refuse to play their U.S.-assigned role. The gun might backfire as in 1939—with unfortunate effects for those who loaded it, for there would be no U.S.S.R. to pull the British and French govts. (as in 1941) out of the fire in which they had landed themselves.

Edgar P. Young
(Commdr. RN retd.)

How crazy can you get dept.

PITTSFIELD, Mass., Dec. 29 (AP) — Nobody likes to live on Kremlin Street—even though it was named for a horse.

So said real estate dealer Robert O. Canzoni today in petitioning that the 60-year-old Pittsfield street name be changed.

He'd like to call it "Lillian Street." Lillian has a good American sound.

—Albuquerque Journal, Dec. 31, 1951.

A year's free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner: Mrs. J. A. Landenslager, Santa Fe, N. M.

Daily Express, London

"Have you got any book about Allied strategy suitable for a retired English colonel with high blood-pressure?"

A grisly toast

NEW YORK, N. Y.

In the event that you missed it, a United Press story in the N.Y. World-Telegram & Sun (Feb. 9) reported that the Royal Navy warships off Korea fired a 21-gun salute to mark Queen Elizabeth's ascension and that the salvoes were aimed at Communist installations on the mainland. Saluting the new Queen with salvoes aimed at destroying human lives. . . .

A. Garcia Diaz

A word to Scandinavia

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Reading in disgust and horror the statements by Mrs. Edith Sampson in Scandinavia (GUARDIAN, Feb. 13), I would just like our good Scandinavian friends to know that while a Mrs. Sampson is sent over to "speak for American Negroes," not only Paul Robeson but Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and myself are denied permission to leave this country.

Shirley Graham
(Mrs. W. E. B. DuBois)

F. D. R. was not there

ST. LOUIS, MO.

I was shocked the other day when I got a copy of the 1953 Almanac published by the Bell Telephone Co. I found that Betsy Ross, Gen. MacArthur, Gen. Lee, Somerset Maugham, among others, were born in January. I was under the impression that F.D.R. was born on Jan. 30. But the Almanac noted that on that day: "Gov. Stuyvesant bought Hudson Co., N.J., 1658."

Let the people with poverty of heart and mind tremble at the very memory of F.D.R., who is loved more and more with each new day because he wanted peace and good will with all nations. **Sol Derman**

German peace movement

HAGEN, GERMANY

The report of the Crimea Conference (February, 1945) records that Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin agreed that "it is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world." And what is happening in West Germany today? Steps have been taken to build a new German army, and that in spite of the struggle by the majority of the German people for the establishment of lasting peace and unity.

All the peoples of the world know that if guns, tanks and planes are again given to the German militarists war will descend upon us. Therefore we know very well the responsibility of the German people to take the banner of peace upon our shoulders. In spite of persecutions, we are at work. Which peace organization and which peace-active person will correspond with German people? Please write to:

Friedrich Jaeger
21B Hagen/West F.
Langestr. 127, Germany

Science is subversive

MORONI, UTAH

Following is something I clipped from the Salt Lake **Tribune**:

"After listening to reports on how the cost of new weapons has skyrocketed, Sen. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.), Appropriations Subcommittee chairman, commented: 'Science is rapidly making war impossible for those who wish an economy based on individual enterprise and freedom.'"

My, oh my, isn't it awful! Our weapons are getting so-o-o-o expensive. Pretty soon we won't be able to afford to kill each other. **F. A. Chr...**

Nuts!

ASHTABULA, O.

A 175 year ago history says we were 3 million people, a farm colony, no industry, a revolution. Today a 150 million, industrial giant, 60 million workers, no more frontiers to expand into. Pardon, I forgot Korea and the frontiers beyond. Our leaders say armaments will keep people employed. History has shown it adds up to war. I haven't forgotten 1931—my oldest son was born. No work and no money. He's in the Army now. A soldier for freedom. Nuts. Just keep the GUARDIAN coming. **Armas Nieminen**

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REPORT TO READERS

The Mailbag, brotherhood and a man like Ted Behre

THE MAILBAG HAS BECOME SOMETHING OF A TRADITION IN THE GUARDIAN. It's what most readers (they tell us) turn to first, and it's no wonder. To embattled progressives surrounded in many communities by a hostile sea of misunderstanding and ignorance, the knowledge that their kind exists in the thousands all over the country gives strength and heart.

The Mailbag is the link, the lifeline of decency, the proof that when all the muck of a sick culture as it exists in America today is cleaned away, cooperation and brotherhood remain the core of human nature. With an unshakable conviction in the truth of that principle we began the GUARDIAN three and a half years ago; every day, every mail reaffirms that conviction.

THIS MAY BE a dangerous confession (because Indignant Correspondent whose letter never got printed will know exactly where to let the brickbat fly in the future) but the Mailbag is one of the special departments this editor has jealously shepherded from the start. The experience has been a rediscovery of America. We get hundreds of letters every week and choosing 15 more or less for each issue is a tough job.

The names signed to the letters have become old friends, although most of the people attached to the names have never been within 1,000 miles of 17 Murray St. In Chicago last summer we shook hands with several dozen of these names at the Peace Congress, and it was a grand feeling. They came over to the GUARDIAN table and patted the pile of papers with the love of a father fondling his first-born just learned to walk.

The GUARDIAN can perhaps boast more devoted voluntary correspondents, home-town paper clippers, philosophers and people-with-a-plan than dozens of publications triple and quadruple its size. You know many of the names: Louise Harding Horr of Brisbane, Calif. (who must stay up half the night monitoring the short-wave radio); Robert Scott of Chicago (a brilliant young social scientist); A. Garcia Diaz of New York (an indefatigable researcher and rememberer of great days in our history); Vincent Noga of Scappoose, Ore. (one of the sharpest and wittiest pens in the family); Mrs. Harvey Sydow of Lyons, Neb. (who'd march right up to the Pentagon brass and dress them right down to the ground if she could afford the fare to Washington). And lots more who will forgive us if we don't mention them; it would take all our eight pages.

SOMETIMES THERE COMES a letter that makes us sad and proud at the same time. Like the one recently from Mitchell Franklin, a teacher at Tulane Law School in New Orleans. The letter said in part:

> **Enclosed is a gift of $70 to the GUARDIAN made in memory of Theodore S. Behre by his friends. This gift is made to the GUARDIAN because Theodore Behre was firmly attached to it and valued highly its mission and its worth. Theodore Behre was truly a great American progressive.**
>
> **He knew that the battle to vindicate American constitutional guarantees and the struggle to attain an American foreign policy based on peace with the Soviet Union and China were indivisible. Theodore Behre's style of practical life, which was determined by self-clarification, generosity, modesty, courage and patience will inspire the people of New Orleans, who have lost so much because of his death.**

Not only New Orleans has lost; the whole of decent America mourns him. We at the GUARDIAN are honored that his friends have chosen us in his honor. To those who worked at his side in New Orleans, to those who work with the Theodore Behres in Biddeford, Me., San Antonio, Tex., and Spokane, Wash., we say:

We know our mission and we know your worth. They just can't lick us.

James Aronson

Shadow of Munich falls over Europe

(Continued from Page 1)

Ing an American paper in the subway as you might feel about reading the Daily Worker in a U. S. subway.

DELAYING THE AGONY: In dealing with French recalcitrance, Secy. Acheson employed "two major bargaining points" (James Reston, N. Y. **Times**, Feb. 13): the threat of withholding dollars, of allowing the Germans "to raise a national army of their own." Of the latter threat Alexander Werth wrote in the **New Statesman & Nation** (Feb. 16):

> At heart nobody was in the least convinced that the European Army WAS necessarily a lesser evil than the plain rearmament of Germany; it was beginning to look too much like mere camouflage for precisely the same thing.

Key to the fate of the Faure government in the confidence vote on the European Army was the attitude of the Socialists. **Le Monde**, Feb. 15, wrote:

> Rarely has time for consideration been more necessary before a vote of confidence. The test involves not only the existence of a government. It can change an entire policy. It concerns not alone our country but all the nations of the Atlantic Alliance.

EDGAR FAURE
Little man, what now?

A "compromise" resolution finally won the Socialist executive's backing by 34 to 32, and a preliminary vote in parliament 327 to 276. The vote of confidence was yet to come; though it would probably be won, the government's mere 51-vote margin, even with Socialist support, left it still on the thin edge. The "compromise," calling for delay in German recruiting until the treaty to form the army has been ratified (believed to mean a delay until summer), and barring German membership in NATO, actually commits France to nothing but may well be construed by the government, if the confidence vote is won, as permitting it freedom of action in the Lisbon negotiations. **Le Monde**, however, warned that a small legal majority would not give the government "the indispensable authority to continue and conclude negotiations, even if the letter of the law grants them the right." The "delay" asked in German recruiting is somewhat meaningless since, as Alvarez del Vayo reported in **The Nation** (Feb. 16), Nazi veterans' organizations "are already at work selecting the 'cadres' of the new German divisions."

"WISE MEN" vs. PEACE: Washington's tough stand toward France was matched by its readiness to buy off the West Germans. Reston (Feb. 13) reported that Acheson was ready to offer them "a liberal settlement of the cost of maintaining U. S. troops in Germany if the Adenauer government will moderate its claims about the Saar"; to give West Germany limited NATO membership now, with a promise of full membership later. The "Three Wise Men" of NATO, led by Averell Harriman, had already yielded to German demands, scaling down its scheduled contribution to "defense costs" from $3,100,000,000 to $2,619,000,000, despite the fact that the latest UN economic survey found Germany's economy West Europe's healthiest, its industry dominating the area.

The East German government's initiative in sending an appeal for a German peace treaty to the four occupation powers held out to France, at a crucial moment, the prospect of a big four conference as an alternative to German rearmament. The N. Y. **Times** (Feb. 15) conceded that West Germany might reject the proposal (as it did, on the ground that unity must precede a treaty) "but that will not nullify its appeal to many elements in Germany and elsewhere in Europe." The **Times**' Drew Middleton reported from Bonn the same day that the appeal would have real effect "upon anti-rearmament circles in this country," which include "trade unionists, pacifists of the center, socialists, and those who advocate unity above everything."

WHERE ARE THE RUSSIANS? Helen Wessel, Catholic Party leader in the Bundestag, reported (said Middleton)

> . . . that tens of thousands of Germans were signing anti-rearmament petitions circulated by the Emergency Committee for Peace in Europe, a group that includes herself, Dr. Gustave Heinemann, and other prominent politicians opposing rearmament.

The program of this staunchly anti-communist committee "is based on the belief that the Russians do not want war" and that the West must make a new approach to the Soviet Union—an approach that can be successful only if German rearmament is canceled. Frau Wessel told Middleton:

> "The Americans told us a year and a half ago that the Russians might invade at any moment. Where are they? We just do not believe they want war."

Our 'new' China policy

WASHINGTON's difficulties in forcing a renascent West Germany upon its European allies and the reluctant peoples of all Europe were matched in the Far East by the frustration inherent in its "determination not to acquiesce in the mainland of China being kept under Communist control" (John Foster Dulles, Feb. 10). The State Dept. officially unveiled its proposed "stiffer" policy toward China coincident with the second anniversary of the Sino-Soviet Pact, celebrated in Peking and Moscow by a renewed Soviet pledge to come to China's aid if it is attacked by Japan or powers associated with Japan, and by Stalin's demand for a "strengthening" of the pact. Washington announced its refusal even to talk about an overall Far East settlement, should there be a Korean truce, at the same time that:

- Elections in India, considered a potential U. S. friend in Asia, showed a powerful Left trend.
- The government of Indonesia, another Washington hope in Asia, was threatened with "a crushing defeat" (N. Y. **Times**, Feb. 17) for accepting U. S. aid under the Mutual Security Act and thus steering the country from its declared neutral position.
- Burma's anti-communist government, in the view of "prominent authorities," could not much longer "steer clear" of Communist control (N. Y. **World-Telegram**, Feb. 15).
- The Vietminh in Indo-China appeared "to be winning slowly and painfully an endless war of attrition" (Hanson Baldwin, **Times**, Jan. 29).

PEACE? NOT THAT! The "new" U. S. China policy was elaborated in a radio talk by Dulles, who called openly for use of Chiang Kai-shek and Japanese troops against China. In London the Labour Party's **Daily Herald** demanded that Britain break with the Dulles war policy: its adoption "would regretably but inevitably bring a complete parting of the ways between us in the Far East." The **New Statesman & Nation** (Feb. 16) said only the King's death prevented the Tory-Labour coalition on foreign policy from disintegrating in the parliamentary debate on Churchill's Far East policy. But the State Dept. said at the week-end that it planned several steps in the Far East so that a Korean armistice

> . . . will not constitute peace in the area that President Truman referred to when he said on Aug. 31, 1950, that the Seventh Fleet would be withdrawn from Formosa when the Korean conflict had been settled. (N. Y. Times, Feb. 17).

Washington's dispatches indicated it would give Chiang a free hand, institute a naval blockade, promote armed diversions by Chiang troops, and use the Japanese as "valuable partners" in overthrowing the Chinese government (Fred Kuh, Chicago **Daily News**, Feb. 1).

FATUOUS NEGOTIATORS: In the Korean truce talks the U. S. questioned China's right to take part in any post-truce political conference. Commented the Washington **Post** (Feb. 12):

> It is fatuous to think that any permanent peace settlement can be made in Korea without the participation of China, Korea's closest neighbor. The Chinese would not recognize for a moment any settlement made without their participation.

U. S. negotiators also refused to discuss any but strictly Korean problems (to which the Koreans and Chinese agreed). The Washington **Post** urged:

> But certainly a political settlement in Korea has a bearing on the general Far Eastern situation. What would be lost by agreeing at least to TALK about these problems? . . . Talk costs nothing and a cardinal principle of American policy ought to be ever-present willingness to discuss a Far East settlement.

China's Foreign Minister Chou En-lai saw a purpose in Washington's continued truce stalling: to maintain a "tense situation" as a means of furthering preparations for a new war.

TRUTH IN TINY VIALS AIMED AT RED CHINA

HICKORY, N. C., Jan. 28 (AP)—Hundreds of tiny white plastic bottles carrying messages of goodwill from college students in the United States to the Chinese people are being released off the China coast this month.

The bottles were donated by the Plax Corporation of Hartford, Conn., and Drew Pearson, the Washington columnist, helped in the arrangement for private interests to drop them off China.

The N. Y. Times

Weep for Whittaker

Whittaker Chambers, ex-Communist and ex-**Time** editor whose evidence sent New Dealer Alger Hiss to jail, tells in his life story now running in the **Saturday Evening Post** of the "tragedy" of his having "of his own will given up a $30,000-a-year job and a secure future to haunt for the rest of his days the ruins of his own life."

SEP paid $75,000 for first serial rights to the book in which Chambers tells his soul's inner secrets as he moved from Communist to informer. The tragedy's grim outlines became clearer last week as it was learned from his publisher, Random House:

- **Witness** (as the 800-page book will be called) will be published in a first printing of 60,000 for sale through regular channels at $6 a copy. Initial advertising budget is $25,000, largest in the firm's history. At 15% (it may rise above that figure) Chambers' royalty take on the first printing alone will be $54,000.
- The book is June selection of the Book-of-the-Month Club, on which the author's share is 10c a copy. Chambers' take on this is estimated at $15-25,000, according to how many BOMC-ers care about ex-Red souls.

Movie and pocket book rights are under negotiation. Radio and TV engagements for Chambers at record fees are coming in briskly.

U. S. harries Vayo in Franco wooing

FRANCISCO FRANCO, last surviving member of the original fascist axis, ruling by terror a starving, seething people, last week seemed to have found a new partner more powerful and more obliging than Hitler or Mussolini.

In Spain the deal for what amounted to virtual U. S. purchase was almost complete. In return for dollars (he is almost bankrupt) and arms (he depends on his army but lacks money to pay, much less equip it; officers take part-time jobs to fill out their income), Franco was prepared to give all Spain. In an interview with the N. Y. Times' Cyrus L. Sulzberger Franco, prepared to dismiss the British as unnecessary,

> . . . said that the value of Gibraltar as a base was now reduced, especially since all Spain was being made available—if the agreement with the U. S. went through.

CRIME — DEMOCRATIC: Even before the new axis was fully formed, Washington was demonstrating its partnership. Julio Alvarez del Vayo, foreign minister of the Spanish Republic, now foreign editor of the **Nation**, was held on Ellis Island for four days last week along with his wife. They were released "on parole" pending investigation. Del Vayo, a Socialist, had been granted the right of permanent residence here. Last summer he left for Europe with a re-entry permit to cover the UN Assembly.

Before he left, the attack on the **Nation** (banned in N. Y. schools) had singled out del Vayo. The bitterly anti-communist **New Leader** had charged him with pro-communism and accused the **Nation** of suppressing attacks against him. The **Nation** filed a $200,000 suit for libel. The **New Leader** last week said it was glad del Vayo had been released; it hoped he would "be permitted to remain in this country until the courts have had their say."

Poland's UN delegate moved a resolution asking Secy.-Gen. Lie to negotiate for the release from torture of 24 men involved in last spring's Barcelona strikes. Mrs. Roosevelt had a comment in her syndicated column: it was "extraneous," and an example of Soviet delaying tactics

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Hallinan, Marc get big Pa., N. J. turnout

IN PHILADELPHIA's Town Hall last midweek over 1,000 Pennsylvania progressives gathered in their biggest political meeting in four years to hear two visiting lawyers.

Two nights later, the same two drew more than 500 progressives in the Essex House, Newark, N. J.

The lawyers were Vincent J. Hallinan, California attorney facing jail for his militant defense of labor leader Harry Bridges against government frameup; and Vito Marcantonio, New York ALP chairman, former Congressman and victorious attorney in the defense of Negro leaders William Patterson and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois against government persecution.

PLACE ON THE BALLOT: In both states, the speakers launched campaigns to assure the Progressive Party its place on the ballot for 1952. In both instances, audiences sensed they were hearing potential Presidential candidates. Their enthusiasm was reflected not only in turnout and applause but also by big collections to get both ballot campaigns started. Deadline for Pennsylvania ballot petitions (goal: 25,000 signatures) is March 10. New Jersey needs at least 1,500 by March 6.

- This Saturday, Feb. 23, in Detroit's Craftsmen's Club, the Progressive Party of Michigan holds a

(Continued on Page 4)

Use old Guardians to win new subscribers. Mail them to your friends. A simple open-end wrapper and a one-cent stamp will do the trick.

FARM

Rank-and-file revolt grows in Farmers Union

By Lawrence Emery

FIFTY years ago in a tiny Texas town the Natl. Farmers Union was founded; it set a high mark for militant defense of the family-sized U. S. farm. Since 1948 NFU top leaders, aligned with the Truman Administration, have become enmeshed in the contradiction of supporting foreign policies which are destroying the gains of a half-century of well-fought domestic battles.

The leaders decided to hold this year's golden anniversary convention at Dallas, Tex., only 40 miles from NFU's birthplace. Since Dallas is one of the South's worst jimcrow towns, this would prevent Negro delegates from active participation. NFU's Eastern Divn. was the first to call for a change of site (GUARDIAN, Feb. 6) but last week it looked as if the plans would go through. Rank-and-file pressure was being exerted for a fight against any jimcrow treatment of Negro members.

PROTEST FROM THE ROOTS: The pressure is not confined to that. For the fight on all basic issues, members are being asked to back the FU Natl. Rank and File Committee. Rank-and-file organization began in Minnesota some two years ago when members there reacted against internal politicking that defeated their progressive state president; it strengthened when the national office tried to unseat Iowa pres. Fred W. Stover, one of the country's most powerful advocates of peace. Circulating around the country is a "Statement of Principles" which says:

> The FU Rank and File Committee is an organization of rank-and-file members throughout the nation who are determined to keep FU on its traditional course of fighting for the common people, and against reactionary economic interests that pile up fortunes at the expense of farm families and lead us into war and depressions. . . .
>
> Traditionally, FU has stood for civilian over military control of our government, and also for an economy of peace and abundance, not war and destruction. We have also stood for a Good Neighbor policy of peace, trade and equality with other nations. FU has always believed in world disarmament, not an armament race, as the way to peace. We have opposed the foreign policy of Big Business, which promotes their policies through our government to profiteer and exploit colonial peoples abroad.
>
> . . . We are alarmed that some of our leaders have, by supporting the war program, relaxed the fight for the original Brannan Plan with 100% parity, flood control, Missouri Valley Authority, slum clearance and other projects for human betterment. We reject the callous assumption that we can have parity at the price of our sons' lives. Parity for farmers is impossible without peace.

Action, Paris

James Wahl of Andover, S. D., is president of the committee; co-chairman is Mrs. Mary Holte, Bergen, N. D.; secy.-treas. is Mrs. Albert Untiedt, Dixon, Ia.; the six exec. comm. members are from Minnesota, Wisconsin, South Dakota, Iowa, Montana, Nebraska. Copies of the statement of principles ($1 for 50) are available from Robert C. Olson, Clearbrook, Minn.

RED (INK) MENACE: Meanwhile family-sized farmers were heading into rougher times than ever. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics reported that

> . . . prices received by farmers averaged nearly 2% lower over the month ending Jan. 15. The decline was due largely to lower prices for eggs, cotton, oranges and grapefruit, and most meat animals. . . . Gradually rising prices for goods bought by farmers, higher interest rates, higher taxes and rising farm wage rates are building up farm costs. The index of prices paid by farmers . . . was up 1% from December and nearly 6% from a year ago.

To President Truman last week went a telegram from Fred Stover:

> The REAL red danger facing farmers is sub-parity income recorded in red ink. . . . Hog and poultry farmers are already being penalized by continued sharp price declines. They have no price support protection whatsoever. Hog prices are far below parity, and egg prices are still lower. . . . Farmers still want a Brannan Plan, not a Bomber Plan.

Drew Pearson reported that Agriculture Secy. Charles Brannan told a recent Cabinet meeting he is alarmed at shortages of fertilizer and farm manpower—both caused by the Administration's war program. Rep. D'Ewart (R-Mont.) said "Administration defense production policies" are giving the farmer a "shabby deal"; Brannan told an audeince of N. Carolina farmers that they face a "mighty shabby return" under present price-support laws, warned that supports can drop sharply next year and bring ruin to many.

DOWN THE HOLE: Biggest danger signal of an approaching farm depression came from a **Wall St. Journal** survey of farm indebtedness which found "farmers are borrowing more money to make ends meet these days." The borrowed funds are being tied up in machinery purchased to offset labor shortages. Said an Indiana banker:

> "Between 60% and 75% of farm machinery deals being made in this area are on some kind of credit arrangement. Three years back nearly everything was sold on a cash basis."

A Kansas bank spokesman said: "Our farm loans have been higher in 1951 than at any other time." The Agriculture Dept. itself warned:

> The large volume of non-real estate debt is significant. Because of its short-term character, large repayments will reduce the cash that farmers will have available for other purposes.

An Arkansas banker reported that overall farm costs there have increased 15% in a year. A Senate committee study raised another alarm: it found that labor-saving devices and machinery will displace 1,500,000 farm workers by 1960, 3,500,000 by 1970, likened the impact of this on U. S. economy to an armed invasion by a foe.

HIGH-LEVEL ROBBERY: Back of all farmers' woes lurked a scandal the Administration sought to conceal: private firms storing farm products under government contract were turning up everywhere with shortages. Some had sold government products on speculation; others had just plain sold them; still others were ingeniously leasing storage space from one government agency, subleasing it at fabulous profits to the Commodity Credit Corp.

Among those fattening on such deals were politicians of Missouri's old Pendergast machine (Harry S. Truman's alma mater). Truman himself defended Brannan and Brannan belittled losses. But $3,800,000 was missing in Texas alone; known losses totaled $7,000,000. Total losses involved were estimated at $100,000,000 to $300,000,000.

THEY KNOW THE SCORE: Farmers, wherever they could express themselves, were taking a sound stand on problems facing them. A **Wallace's Farmer and Iowa Homestead** poll found the big worry of 1952 for 60% of men, 71% of women interviewed was how to avoid World War III. Asked which of the two major parties might prevent war, 61% said neither would be much help or were undecided; 47% had no faith in either party keeping off a depression.

In the South, the **Southern Farm and Home** got these answers to these questions:

> Should we continue our present policy of "containment"? No: 64%. Undecided: 5%.
>
> Should a Truman-Churchill-Stalin meeting be held now? Yes: 49%. Undecided: 9%.
>
> Should Congress enact a Universal Military Training program? No: 57%. Undecided: 2%.
>
> Should we repeal the McCarran Act and restore the historic American right of free thought? Yes: 60%. Undecided: 5%.

During the week Sen. Taft, campaigning through farm areas for the Presidential nomination, denounced the Brannan Plan because it "means the elimination of liberty on the farm." He was for present sliding price-support scales bringing far less than parity to small U. S. farmers.

(Continued from Page 3)

statewide conference to open a drive for 25,000 signatures to assure its ballot position. Michigan progressives polled 46,500 votes in '48, while Truman lost the state to Dewey by 35,000. In 1950, the Progressives did not run a candidate for governor and Gov. Williams (D) was re-elected by fewer than 1,000 votes. Michigan PP's aim is to use its balance of power position in '52 in behalf of a program of peace, civil rights and improved unemployment compensation in crisis-ridden Michigan.

THE LAW

Whittling Fla. judge again condemns Irvin

FOR a second time since 1949 Walter Lee Irvin, 24-year-old Negro Army veteran, stood last week before Florida Circuit Court Judge Truman G. Futch and heard him intone a sentence of death: ". . . electrocuted until you be dead and may God have mercy . . ."

Charged with rape of white Mrs. Norma Padgett, Irvin sat through his three-day trial wracked with pain, his right hand and side numb from gunshot

wounds inflicted last November by Lake County Sheriff Willis V. McCall while Irvin was handcuffed to Samuel Shepherd, also charged with the rape. Shepherd was shot to death. Ernest Thomas, accused in the same case, was shot to death by a "sheriff's posse" in 1949. Charles Greenlee is serving a life sentence—spared death because he was only 16 at the time. The U. S. Supreme Court unanimously reversed the first conviction with a sharp rebuke to Florida justice.

83 MINUTES: Florida justice did not change. Judge Futch denied a defense motion for a change of venue, threw out a 43-page Elmo Roper pollster study of four counties showing 46% of Marion County whites had pre-judged Irvin guilty (of 518 whites questioned, none thought him innocent). The judge, who presided at the first trial, whittled at cedar sticks throughout the proceedings. State Atty. Jess Hunter, 73, who prides himself as a backwoods "character," continuously heckled the defense and its witnesses, boasted he had a "perfect case," predicted his all-white jury would convict in less than 30 minutes (it took them 83). Only six Negroes were on the jury panel of 100.

Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, and Jack Greenberg, asst. special counsel, once barred from the case by Judge Futch, were aided by Florida attorneys Alex Akerman and Paul Perkins. A motion to suppress state evidence "obtained through illegal search and seizure"—Irvin's clothes had been taken from his home without a warrant—was denied. During the trial, judge and prosecutor lunched together at a nearby hotel. Irvin's mother and two sisters were spectators in the courtroom's jimcrow balcony.

"JUSTICE DONE": The prosecution offered no medical or other evidence to prove that Mrs. Padgett was raped. It gave the jury its simple choice: either it believed the Negro defendant or the white accuser. In Florida's inflamed Marion County the choice was simple.

Two new defense witnesses shattered the prosecution's case. A Miami criminologist of 25 years' experience testified that plaster casts of Irvin's footprints taken at the alleged crime site were faked and planted. Pfc. Lawrence Burtoft, first man Mrs. Padgett saw after the alleged attack, said she was calm, showed no sign of struggle, made no mention of having been raped, told him she could not identify four Negroes who, she said, took a ring from her, because it had been "too dark."

Irvin repeated his innocence, testified he did not even know two of the other

Ollie Harrington in Pittsburgh Courier

"White fellers in the battalion all talkin' about havin' our first annual post-war get-to-gether in Miami, Fla. But I swear I ain't goin' unless they gets us race men some permits to dig us some slit trenches in the streets down there!"

men accused. The prosecution in its summation appealed to sectional and racial prejudices, told the jury:

> "You men have a right, you men sitting on this jury, to rise to the protection of your women. . . ."

When sentence was pronounced, Negroes wept while whites grinned with pleasure. Sheriff McCall himself pronounced: "Justice has been done." The verdict will be appealed.

Over the weekend two N. Y. newspapers (**Compass** and **Post**) revealed that Gov. Fuller Warren had thoughout the trial sought to make a deal with Irvin whereby he would plead guilty in return for a life sentence with possible freedom in seven or eight years. The governor's go-between was his special investigator Jefferson J. Elliott; KKK exposer Stetson Kennedy revealed recently that Elliott had admitted he is a Klansman. Irvin spurned the deal:

> "I'm innocent. I'll take a life sentence right now because that's better than the chair, but if I have to say I had anything to do with that lady I'm not going to do it. I'm not guilty."

TERROR ROLLS ON: The Irvin conviction emphasized the total failure—or refusal—of local, state or federal authorities to halt spreading violence against Negroes and Jews, particularly to apprehend the Christmas-night bombmurderers of Florida NAACP leader Harry T. Moore and his wife not far from the site of the Irvin trial. (Moore had been active in demanding prosecution of Sheriff McCall for the Shepherd and Irvin shooting). Protests grew around the country last week. In Washington Rep. Louis B. Heller (D-N. Y.) introduced a bill to establish a death penalty for bodily harm or death caused by vandalism inspired by racial or religious prejudice. Sen. H. Alexander Smith (R-N. J.) demanded a prompt report from the FBI on findings, if any, in recent acts of terrorism.

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—Cedric Belfrage,
Natl. Guardian, June 20, 1951

A Letter to Guardian Readers
from the editors of Monthly Review

Leading publishers in the United States and England found I. F. Stone's HIDDEN HISTORY OF THE KOREAN WAR terrific—but too hot to handle. We read it and felt its publication was essential in the fight for peace. We decided to publish the book ourselves, in spite of the fact that this was a dangerous financial risk for a struggling independent socialist monthly. We decided to take the gamble, because we felt it was a gamble for peace.

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FORUM ON ASIA. Speaker: Charles R. Allen Jr., asst. editor The Nation. Sun., Feb. 24, 8:30 p.m. Hotel Ansonia, 72d St. & B'way. Adm. free. Auspices: West Side Neighbors for Peace.

Detroit

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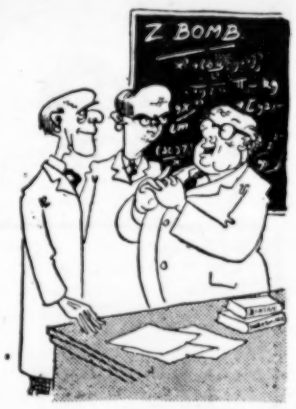

Daily Express, London

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Crisis in textiles — fruit of CIO's vapid policy

By Elmer Bendiner

THREE years ago CIO leaders gathered in Atlanta, Ga., and proclaimed a southern organizing "crusade." Philip Murray pledged that no communists would have a hand in it. Church dignitaries gave it a formal blessing.

But the crusaders ignored the South's greatest lesson: the need for Negro-white rank-and-file cooperation. Instead, the CIO campaigned without offending "local traditions."

By the year's end the crusade had failed and the CIO, still waving its anti-communist banner in defeat, went on in convention to oust its most militant unions and pledge itself to the cold war.

NORTHERN JOBS FADE: Last week memories of that vanquished crusade haunted members of the CIO Textile Workers Union, who faced a bitter speed-up and a sharp drop in wages under the blackmail threat of the mills to move south where "costs" are less.

Of all CIO unions the TWUA had been most eager to adopt the 1949 line. Its officers were the first, the most willing to sign Taft-Hartley oaths, to take part in war mobilization agencies, to endorse every step in the cold war. Four times in four years, while the industry was reaping war profits (camouflaged in some cases by pouring profits from northern mills into southern annexes), the union passed up wage raises for its members.

For more than three weeks last March some 70,000 TWUA members did strike the northern mills for a 15c-an-hour pay raise, settled for 12c but left the final decision to the Wage Stabilization Board, of which TWUA pres. Emil Rieve is a member. Months later union pres. Rieve argued against stabilizer Rieve, finally whittled down the raise to 9½c. It left textile workers in the north far behind workers in other industries and still farther behind the price rise. By midsummer, unemployment had hit the mills. In Paterson, N. J., 1,125—50% of the town's textile workers—were idle; in Lawrence, Mass., 16,000. The Dan River Mills in Danville, Va. went on a four-day week. The **Wall St. Journal** estimated that 40,000 had lost jobs in the mills in four months.

BOOM IS SLIPPING: Early this month union officials said the industry was suffering "the worst depression since the 30's;" that one-fourth of the union's 16,000 members at American Woolen were unemployed, many others on part time.

The war boom had begun to come apart at the seams in textiles as in auto. Within the U.S., prices and taxes had whittled down the family clothing budget. Overseas, Japanese mills working with and for U.S. capital at rock-bottom wages were cutting into the market. Still the Korean War had brought unprecedented profits to the big mills. American Woolen, for example, reported net profits, after deducting taxes, dividends, special fund holdouts, of $10,527,412—twice the 1950 net, four times that of 1949. (Average hourly pay in the north: $1.30.)

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THE SQUEEZE: With both union officers and mill-owners lamenting the war "boom's" depression, two union conferences on Jan. 5-6 voted to pass up all demands for wage raises at the reopener this March.

While the union vetoed raises for its members, a study prepared for the union showed the Korean War had produced "spectacular gains in all branches of the industry" and that "the industry's financial condition is excellent."

A few days later the pace-setting American Woolen Co. (with 22 mills in the north, two in the south) announced it would not renew its contract when it expires in March. Union officials said they would brook no wage cuts.

THE BOOMERANG: But on Jan. 13 the retreat was on again. Two locals covering workers in Pittsfield, Mass., and Waterville, Me., voted to accept a 50% increase in their work load—though unemployment was toughest in New England. Pittsfield papers said the Wyandotte Mills were expected to lay off substantial numbers of workers as a result. John Chupka, director of the union's woolen and worsted division, said locals covering about 100 other mills in the north would follow suit.

The reason given was the mill-owners' plain-spoken blackmail that otherwise the mills would move to the south.

Having failed to organize the south, the union seemed resolved on whittling down the north-south differential by debasing northern standards.

THE ULTIMATUM: American Woolen Co., unappeased, asked the union to agree on: elimination of paid holidays, second-shift and week-end premiums; complete abolition of seniority rules in firings, immediate firing of all those less than one year with the company, and a one-year moratorium on escalator-clause raises.

THE CHICKENS: In Lawrence, Mass., 4,000 TWUA members rallied and voted down American Woolen's demands, ordered delegates to hold fast on what amounted to a last-ditch line for negotiators who opened talks with the company last week. Other New England locals took similar action. (Talks broke down after one day when the company demanded separate contracts for each of its mills.)

While CIO chickens flocked home to roost, CIO chiefs still talked a fair fight. Only a month ago TWUA vice-pres. George Baldanzi, scrapping for power with pres. Rieve, drew cheers at a Rhode Island CIO convention when he said:

"We must bust wage stabilization wide open."

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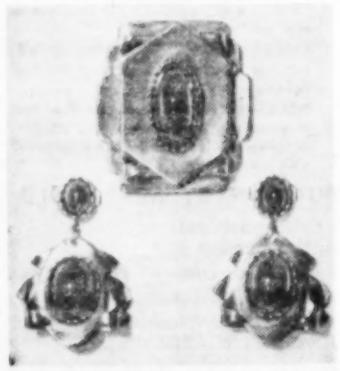

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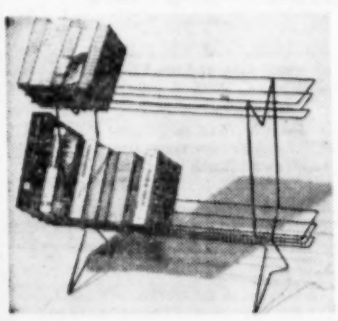

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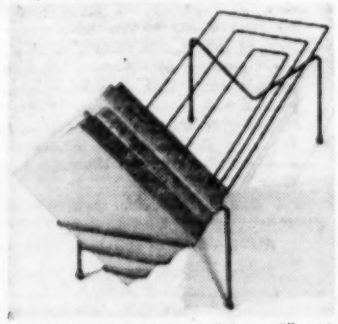

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PEACE

March 2 celebration in Los Angeles

ON MARCH 1, 1919, the Koreans translated Wilson's Fourteen Points into action, rebelled against the Japanese occupation, declared their independence. Korean-Americans on that date celebrate their own July 4, but this year U.S. peacemakers, equating Korea's independence with peace, prepared to make the holiday their own.

The Southern California Peace Crusade and the Koreans for Peace called on all peace organizations to rally at Los Angeles' Embassy Auditorium **March 2.** Negro, Mexican-American, Chinese organizations were joining in.

The Northern California Peace Council marked these dates: **Feb. 29,** award of peace prizes to outstanding local peacemakers; **March 20,** delegation to leave for Washington to present petitions for a five-power peace pact; **April 6,** "Peace Day" celebration; **Mid-May,** a "Peace and Brotherhood Festival."

BRING 'EM HOME! In southern California friends and relatives of soldiers in the 40th Div., National Guard, demanded the division be brought home. They pointed out in a letter to Sen. Nixon (R-Calif.) that guardsmen are promised they will not serve overseas except in case of war. Officially the Korea fighting is a "police action."

(GIs were using their own means to get home. At Fort Sill, Okla., authorities complained that men in Korea were applying for Officer Candidate School in order to be relieved from overseas duty, then resigning from the course the first day home.)

In San Francisco members of 16 unions (CIO, AFL, independent) formed the Trade Unionists For Peace to end the war economy with its wage freeze, high prices, high taxes. (A similar east coast group met last week in New York, pledged 60,000 signatures to big-five peace pact petitions by **March 20.**)

Elsewhere in the movement for peace:

NEW YORK: A call from 22 young men and women active in student groups, bible fellowships, progressive political groups and trade unions went out to all youth organizations to confer on "how we can further the cause of peace" at Manhattan Center, **Feb. 22.**

The American Peace Crusade called its National Committee members, sponsors and local peace leaders to an extraordinary meeting Feb. 24 in New York to lay plans to stop the spread of war, speed the lagging Korean truce.

CANADA: A peace lobby was called by the Saskatchewan Peace Council for **Feb. 22** in Regina. (The Gallup Poll last month asked Canadians: "Do you think the Russian government wants war with us at this time?" Answers were: 57% no; 22% yes; 21% no opinion.)

Szpilki, Warsaw

DEUTSCHLAND, DEUTSCHLAND ÜBER ALLES!

BRITAIN: In London MPs have been besieged by delegations and petitions from steelworkers, woodworkers, miners, farmers demanding a five-power peace pact, repudiating all steps to war with China or Egypt. The Ex-Service Movement for Peace sent a delegation to Downing Street, mobilized a peace lobby for Parliament. The London University Union passed a resolution that "this house will not fight in any war."

WEST GERMANY: Peaceworker Mrs. Lilly Waechter was appealing her sentence of eight months in jail and 15,000-mark fine meted out by U.S. occupation authorities last October for reporting on her trip to Korea as a member of the International Women's Commission.

In opening his case the U.S. prosecutor asked for a heavy sentence to "set an example to other peace fighters." From Britain lawyer D. N. Pritt and Mrs. Monica Felton (who herself lost a government job for taking part in the commission) flew to defend Mrs. Waechter. Mrs. Felton reported that hundreds waited outside the courtroom in a driving rain as the trial began; many sympathizers came from as far as Stuttgart, five hours by train.

WORLD OVER: The World Council of Peace announced that as of Jan. 1, 596,302,298 persons in 60 countries had signed appeals for a five-power pact.

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(A contrast to the COLLIER'S article)

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